1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

To combat sorcery counter-medicine was first available. This was a socially acceptable action which in content was precisely the same as was the illegal grievance against which it moved.[5] Counter-medicine was used when a power surpassing that which lay in the curse was available. An alternative was to cause the sorcerer to break his tabus. On the purely physical plane, when neither of these two methods was successful or available, coercive threats were hurled, with the result that the accused took the conditional curse, or in rare instances either out-faced the "prosecutors" or was violently attacked by them.

But first there was the problem of evidence. Here the situation was different from that we have observed in the marital situation. The act of aggression was secret and the aggressor a dangerous person. The problem, therefore was one not only of evidence—it was also one of detection.

With a number of medicine owners in the tribe, and every shaman a potential sorcerer, the finding of the guilty one was not a simple matter. The recourse was to divination.

When a tribesman had fallen under the curse of a sorcerer, only a powerful shaman could discover the nature and source of the magic. For this each medicine man had his own special technique. In all cases, however, its essence lay in divination. The general pattern was to divine by waving an eagle feather medicine-fan over the patient while singing medicine songs. When the power was strong enough, the image of the guilty sorcerer appeared beneath the fan. So certain was the technique in the more common cases that our informants explained, "When a feather is shot into a person, a medicine man can see just like reading a newspaper who put it there." The words of a diviner were accepted truth for those associated with the sick man. They stood as such unless the accused sorcerer was firm in denial.

Other divinational techniques were found in the peyote and beaver ceremonies. The former is a relatively modern, and the latter an ancient religious rite. The beaver ceremony was a notable curing service; it was one of the few Comanche religious forms in which there was group participation.

[5] There is nothing incongruous in magic as an instrument of law. When used as a recognized sanction, it serves a justifiable end, and is therefore "good." It must not be forgotten that all sanctions, whatever their nature, work a harm to the wrong-doer. It is this that gives sanctions their power of restraint. So Malinowski sees sorcery as a means of maintaining social order in Melanesia, *Crime and Custom*, pp. 85–94. Hogbin goes with him in interpreting the data from Ontong Java, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (New York, 1936), pp. 216–223. Evans-Pritchard sounds the same note for the Zande of Africa, *Sorcery and Native Opinion* (Africa, vol. 4, 1931), pp. 22–55.